

PEACE NEWS

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A Letter to Mr. Churchill

RETRIBUTION — through CHILDHOOD

Every day the war continues—for all our high-sounding claim that it is a retribution for the past violence of our enemies—it is creating the very conditions "which will lead to future violence and to the perpetuation of this war in other forms."

How, at the same time, it is also making the future generation less fitted to deal with that situation is shown here

by VERA BRITTAIN

"As a result of the immense dislocation caused by war conditions, the average retardation is between six and twelve months."

THIS fact was revealed (according to The Times Educational Supplement) in a recent report of the Chief Inspector (Mr. J. Brown) of the London County Council's Education Committee on the present-day attainments of the older children in the Council's elementary schools.

For purposes of comparison, a test applied on an extensive scale to London elementary school children in 1924 was used again on approximately the same number of children of the same age under similar conditions. The result showed that in spelling, arithmetic, history, and geography the present level of achievement is definitely worse than that of 1924.

The lower scores in most subjects, says the Chief Inspector, "cannot be regarded as unexpected. For nearly four years these children have been through of variety of experiences ranging from long periods of no schooling to periods in schools in various parts of the country. Even children in regular attendance have lost much time through having to take cover in air raid shelters. London's schools are still emergency schools, and have not yet had time to settle down to quiet and stable conditions."

Moreover, "during the war years it has not been possible to give backward children the same special attention they got in pre-war years; as a result there are today more numerous and more serious cases of backwardness in the ordinary elementary school than hitherto."

The Chief Inspector does not blame the teachers for these results. "They have worked well and courageously throughout the war years, but the conditions of home, environment, and school have all been difficult, unsettling, and frustrating."

A CAROL
of the Epiphany

Afterwards

After the Star—the dim day;
After the Gifts—the empty hands;
And now we take our secret way
Back to far lands.

After the Cave—the bleak plain;
After the Joy—the weary ride;
But journey we, three new-made
men,
Side by side.

After the Star—a new light;
After the new King—His law:
Never shall we forget last night,
What we saw.

Come we by old paths in the sands,
Go we by new ones, this new day,
Homewards, to rule our lives and
lands
By another way.

The picture is anyhow a serious one. Many of these children are now nearing the end of their "education"; in a few years all of them will rank as adults. The conditions under which they have struggled through school will mean a generation with second-rate standards, knowledge, and judgment.

But when we consider, in terms of what is happening to these children's contemporaries on the continent of Europe, the problems with which as adults they will be confronted, the picture becomes catastrophic.

A recent number of the Christian Century—an American weekly which should be better known by British members of the so-called Christian Churches—carried a profoundly disquieting article by James Wood Johnson entitled "The Vengeance of Europe's Children."

Mr. Johnson has been working as a private citizen in Europe in co-operation with the American Red Cross and the American Friends' Service Committee. He is the author of articles on the European food crisis which have appeared in the Saturday Evening Post and other magazines and of a pamphlet, "The Coming Generation in Europe."

His Christian Century article, however, describes, not the physical sufferings of Europe's children, but the corruption of their minds by famine, cruelty, and privation.

DEFORMED CHARACTERS

These children, this first-hand observer tells us, "are undergoing a sinister deformation of character which will lead to future violence and to the perpetuation of this war in other forms."

He goes on to describe how the child who finds dissatisfaction for his hunger at home will seek it outside the family. Present conditions, in Europe, moreover, leave him free to roam the streets most of the day. Mothers spend hours in food queues, schools run only intermittently, the wives of millions of prisoners of war have to neglect their children in order to work and earn what little they can.

Deprived of food and their due share of family affection, many children have lost all respect for parental authority. They roam the streets in bands, snatching bits of food whenever they can, knocking down and stealing from passers-by. Officials of the French Red Cross in Lyons told Mr. Johnson with alarm of the great increase of child criminality throughout France.

SEEKING NEW FUEHRERS

"It is important for us," he writes, "to understand what this tendency in the hungry children of Europe means."

"It means the submerging of all individuality into the collective desire for leaders who by force can achieve satisfaction for the urge to vengeance and destruction. It means the cult of force, and respect for nothing but force. . . .

"Unless food relief is provided for these children before another winter

PLEA FOR A CESSATION OF BOMBING

"Act Generously Now"

On behalf not only of thousands of pacifists but of many non-pacifists with whom he is in touch, the Rev. Patrick Figgis, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, has written to the Prime Minister expressing

their horror at the indiscriminate bombing of German cities; their belief that it will strengthen the desire for revenge; a hope for a cessation at least during Christmas; and a plea for a generous approach to the German people.

Writing on December 8, Patrick Figgis said:—

AS our Prime Minister, you will wish to know how many people in this country feel about the present bombing of German cities.

I have reason to know, as I am in touch not only with members of this movement . . . but also with many other Christian people; also with many who are neither Christians nor pacifists.

We have been horrified beyond words at the accounts of the bombing of Berlin and other German cities.

Clearly our bombing is quite indiscriminate, and far more terrible in its effects upon the inhabitants of those cities than anything we have experienced in this country. "Thousands of people burnt alive"—to quote one neutral source.

Nor is our reaction simply one of sentiment. It is not only that we are sorry for the victims of our raids.

For we are persuaded that, although by this means we may hope to shorten the war, actually we are sowing the seeds of hatred and revenge in the minds of German young people in such a way that almost inevitably in the course of time another war will follow.

Such evil as we are perpetrating cannot, we believe, produce good results. We seem almost to have descended to the Nazi level of brutality.

Is it too late to ask if there may not at least be a cessation of bombing during Christmas? Is it useless to ask you to reconsider your present bombing policy?

If you, on behalf of our country, were now to act generously towards the German people, we believe that an appreciative response would be forthcoming from people in every country—above all from the ordinary people in Germany.

Men would know that you had done the right thing; and the dawn of reconciliation, forgiveness, peace, and a real overthrowing of evil would begin to appear.

BRING YOUR GIFT

THE Special Effort Appeal has now passed the £1,000 mark. But the target—it will not be forgotten—is £1,500. Can we not, by a concerted Christmas effort, take it to the goal? What better thing can we do, at the season when our minds turn longingly to the birth of the Man of Peace, than dedicate ourselves anew to his purpose in the midst of the blasphemy of world-war?

"We have at least found out," said the present Archbishop of Canterbury during the last war, "believers and unbelievers alike, that all war is contrary to the spirit and mind of Christ." He has changed since then, but Christ has not. Bring your gift to comfort Him, and bring it now!

Contributions since Dec. 3: £65 10s. 2d. Total to date: £1,025 10s. 2d.

THE EDITOR

Please send contributions, plainly marked "HEADQUARTERS SPECIAL APPEAL" to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

sets in, we may very well find, when we do decide that we should give them such relief, that we are too late, and that the starving children of today have become potential storm troopers of tomorrow. If that happens, it will be the task of our own children to deal with the consequences."

The author concludes that the question is not whether relief shall be provided; the question is when. "Let us hope that it will be started without waiting for a belated understanding by all the world that the consequence of progressive starvation of the growing children of a whole continent is an incalculable disaster in the face of which a military victory may become an empty victory both for Europe and for ourselves."

ATROCIOUS CRUELTIES

To the effects of starvation we and the Americans—who are bombing into ruins not only German cities, but the ports and industrial towns of Italy, France, and the rest of Occupied Europe—must add the results of "obliteration" raids.

In the press we read that ten-year-old children—whom the British public had comfortably supposed to be evacuated—were fighting the fires caused by our mass attacks on Berlin. Terrible details of atrocious cruelties worse than medieval tortures, carried out in the name of "retribution" upon the helpless citizens of Hamburg and other German towns, are now given unblushingly by our newspapers.

We who watched, with profound misgivings, London children running wild among the blitzed streets of the East End, may learn from the neutral press of the appalling sights which have become a commonplace to the homeless children of those bombed-out German families in whose growing millions our editorial writers find so much satisfaction.

"A FRIGHTFUL SIGHT"

Describing the state of Western Germany in Das Volksrecht (Zurich) for Oct. 2, 1943, a Swiss correspondent wrote that the cities through which his train passed "presented a frightful sight. Dortmund, Gelsenkirchen, Oberhausen, and Duisburg are great heaps of rubble from which ghostly mineshafes protrude. The heaps of ruins are sometimes so enormous that one often wonders whether they must ultimately be transported."

What kind of next generation will arise from the half-starved children for whom such ruin and barbarism form the background of "normal" living?

We who set out to "fight Fascism" are assiduously creating conditions in which nothing but super-Fascism can

(Continued on page 5, col. 3)

NEXT WEEK

owing to the Christmas holiday, Peace News will be published a day earlier than usual.

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The Far Country

OUR ambassador went to the village-shop in search of Christmas suet. They had none. "Neither have we," said our ambassador, "and that means no mincemeat." There was silence for a moment at that manifest disaster. Then said Shop: "Oh, but you must have mincemeat. We'll get you some suet somehow." Shop was as good as her word. There is mincemeat this Christmas at the farm.

Well, we thought to ourselves: there is some sense of spiritual obligation left. Christmas still has its imperatives. No mincemeat at Christmas is an acknowledged catastrophe, which is not to be tolerated.

How far, we wondered, was it from that to the idea that no peace at Christmas was a still more intolerable catastrophe. A long way, perhaps. Not so much that Christmas has become a festival of material rather than spiritual good cheer. Ordinary country folk feel that they can do something about Christmas. It is in the power of a friendly shop to bestir itself, out of sheer good will, to scrape up enough suet from somewhere to ensure that our mincemeat lacks not. But to do something about peace is, they feel, beyond their power.

They would like to. They find no sweetness in the revenge which, it is reported, the townsman feels at the devastation of the humble houses of Germany. "It's a bad business," they murmur, as the bombers nightly go roaring Eastwards overhead. "No good will come of it." But they live in a world in which Kings and Wise Men pay no homage to the Babe in the manger.

They have some reverence left. The story still means something to them. A cowshed is a real and familiar place to them. How many times have they not peered through the gloom to see a new-born calf? Once it was a woman and a baby, and the manger was turned into a crib. And strange emissaries of far-off things came to offer royal gifts, while the camels and the oxen knelt. Why not?

If someone said on Christmas Eve,
"Come, see the oxen kneel
In the lonely barn by yonder coomb
Our childhood used to know,"
I should go with him in the gloom
Hoping it might be so.

But not even in the story did the Emperor of Rome send a legate, or Herod a chamberlain. They were kings of a far country in the East who sent their homage, not the kings of the country in which Joseph and Mary were registered. By the time the real kings sent their homage the Babe was no longer in the manger. The cowshed had become a cathedral. Nay, the very cross was a sword-hilt. So it was bound to be. If the Kings who sent to Bethlehem had been the real Kings, there would have been no Cross at all.

The real Kings gathered in the East of late: in Cairo and Istanbul and Teheran. The humble folk who know the cowshed and the manger still dreamed that they would send gifts to the eternal child. The gifts did not come. The stocking was full of great empty words. If you listen in the stillness, you can hear the sound of tears.

One day, perhaps, the Kings will be like the little people who are mesmerized into choosing them. With the same simplicity as Shop says: "Oh, but you must have mincemeat," these other Kings will say, "Oh, but they must have their peace. There is travail enough and suffering for them without the monstrosity of war." Then the babe will crow in his manger-crib, and his mother smile because the destiny of crucifixion is lifted from him. But not till then.

Unsigned articles in Peace News do not necessarily represent official PPU views.

BIRTH OF A NEW WORLD WAR?

THERE are two directly conflicting views concerning the recent formidable series of conferences. One is that the political decisions of the Big Three amount to precisely nothing, except in so far as the agreement on the concerted military effort is political.

The other view is that the political decisions were important. The Observer (Dec. 12) discusses a report that three major decisions were taken:

1. Russia is to have final option on German labour and German machinery.
2. Russia consents to "the occupation of German territory mainly under British and American guidance."
3. The Big Three have accepted in principle the post-war partition of German territory to meet Polish claims in return for concessions to Russia, and to prevent German power from rising again.

One's impulse is to say: "There is World War III." But it is conceivable that such agreements represent the most promising compromise obtainable in what seems a hopelessly be-devilled situation. Russia wins all along the line. Poland, extended in East Prussia and Silesia, will simply have to lean on Russia. It underlines Smuts's rueful admission that Russia will be dominant in Europe.

What Of Military Plans?

THE complete agreement on military plans has to be considered in the light of the failure of the attack in Italy, whence the Germans have been able to send no fewer than four Panzer divisions to Russia. Capt. Liddell Hart (D. Mail, Dec. 13) says that even before Montgomery's offensive, Allied losses were probably much heavier than the German.

"On balance up to date the campaign may appear quite a good strategical investment from the German point of view and a poor one from ours."

The conduct of our military affairs in South and S.E. Europe has been strikingly poor in comparison with the Russian and German leadership. The Russians cannot be very confident that the much bigger attack on the Continent now contemplated will be more successful. Yet the Russians are apparently highly satisfied with the results of Teheran. Is it possible that the attack will be under Russian leadership?

Smuts on Power

SMUTS'S speech has fluttered the doves, as well it might. What has been found most shocking in it is its blunt assertion that power is the final arbiter. Might is right, after all. Or isn't it? Smuts the philosopher seems to have given up thinking on that question. It might well perturb him.

For Smuts the politician stands on some of the shakiest moral ground in existence today. He represents a policy of exploitation of the

spring from the unchaining of the human being in the slave. One day there will be a like upsurge in Africa, which will overwhelm the epigoni of Smuts: a possibility which Smuts's unconsciousness is determined to bury.

But it is both odd and significant that a politician of Smuts's philosophical power should be so barren of what the philosopher-politician should be rich in—a theory of history. For him, evidently, great Powers rise and fall inexplicably: all one can do is to register the new power-constellation. That is, in effect, nihilism. Has "Slim Jannie" clung to power too long—till something has withered in him?

From Slavery To Power

YET he might have asked himself why the great Powers of the immediate present are USA and Russia, with Britain a declining third, barely equal now and doomed to subsequent inferiority. It is not their natural resources. Russia had the same material resources when she collapsed in 1917. It is the power to make those resources available for human needs; and that depends on the liberation of the moral energies of a class of men who have hitherto been used as slaves. In Great Britain the middle-class was liberated, in USA the landless of Europe, in Russia the whole Russian proletariat. These successive waves of new energy carried Britain to Empire, USA to the dominion of a Continent, and Russia to her forthcoming world hegemony.

The revolutionary urge of Britain has faded away. Her Empire is disintegrating as an empire, though it may retain significance as a commonwealth. America is advancing rapidly and unwillingly, driven by the inherent momentum of the world's greatest machine-society, to a political pandemonium wherein the great issue of Capital and Labour will confusedly be fought to a bitter conclusion, because the forces of Labour are hopelessly divided between industrial workers, farmers, and Negroes.

Power Age Ending?

BRITAIN must strengthen her position by leading the Western European democracies, says Smuts. Paradoxically, in the same breath he slights France, without whose loyal help in forming it such a federation is quite impossible. The blunder comes of seeing in material power the only reality. France, I prophesy, will be a great power when she has ceased to be a Great Power: indeed, greater because not Great.

I have an obstinate hunch that the day of colossal aggregations of material power will not last very long. I do not believe that even Russia's power will last very long: because its basis is too material. My feeling is that the modern aggregations of power are too colossal for humanity to endure them. They do not fit the pattern of the human psyche.

My reason supports my instinct; for reason tells me that if these aggregations of power are to prepare for war, existence within them will be unmitigated slavery. France, with her intelligence and her savoir vivre, may prove to be the first great nation to say: Be damned to power! France quand meme!

COMMENTARY

Edited by "Observer"

African native; and others have been quick to see in his suggestion of greater control of the neighbouring African territories by the Union of S. Africa the danger of a further extension of the doctrine and practice of the Herrenvolk. The New Statesman (Dec. 11) reminds us how grim are the conditions under which natives work in the S. African minefields.

Liberation—by Britain

IT is worth while thinking back. The Boer War was fought to bring the minefields into British territory, and under British "law," so that they might be exploited in true-blue fashion. At that time British domestic propaganda, more artless perhaps but just as effective as now, made great play with the brutality of the Boers to the natives. The blessed word "sjambok" ("stock-whip") was in every true Briton's mouth. We were fighting to liberate the Kaffir. In fact, the Boers and the Britons united to enslave him, with this result:

"370,000 native workers work in and around the Rand mines for an average wage of 3s. 4d. per shift as compared with over 35s. for equivalent white labour. The compounds in which they are quartered, and in which compound managers maintain discipline through a private police-and-spy service backed with the sanction of the sjambok, are grossly deficient both in hygiene and reasonable amenities. Hours of work, compound to compound, average 13 per day; the food provided by the mines is inadequate in quantity and revolting in quality; the maximum compensation payable for permanent disablement is £50. At the end of their period of servitude these native miners, frequently broken in health by tuberculosis and venereal disease, return to their reserves, where they are compelled to leave their families." (New Statesman, Dec. 11.)

No Theory of History

FROM that miserable background, Smuts speaks. It is not surprising that he finds the rise of Russia an "inexplicable phenomenon." It represents what is unthinkable to Smuts—the liberation of the Kaffirs and their incorporation as equals in a new form of society. The astonishing upsurge of Russia

Hess — and the Post-War Mess

Parliament has at last been allowed a fairly full statement about the nature and purpose of Hess's visit, any earlier statement having presumably been withheld from fear that it might increase the danger of an early restoration of peace.

HESS, it appears, came over without Hitler's knowledge, yet feeling that he clearly understood Hitler's attitude towards Britain etc. He hoped, by getting in touch with sympathetic people in this country, to open the way for Great Britain to enter into peace conversations without loss of prestige and thereby put a stop to unnecessary slaughter.

He was convinced that Hitler had never entertained any designs on the British Empire and had not even aspired to world domination. The solution which Hess put forward was as follows.

1. That Germany should be given a free hand in Europe.
2. That Britain should have a free hand in the British Empire but should return the German colonies.
3. That Russia should be included in Asia, but that Germany had certain demands to make of Russia which would have to be settled by negotiation or by war.
4. That Britain should evacuate Iraq.
5. That there should be reciprocal indemnification of British and German citizens whose property had been expropriated as a result of war.
6. That negotiations must be carried out with a British government other than the Churchill Government.

On the face of things, and viewed without prejudice, Hess's expedition looks very like a sporting effort by an enlightened man, and not improbably it afforded a chance of concluding a quite reasonable negotiated peace which would have saved millions of human lives, especially Russian lives.

WHAT NEGOTIATION MEANS

I do not for a moment, of course, mean to suggest that even the terms put forward by Hess should have been accepted by us in full, unconditionally, and without safeguards.

A negotiated peace is in the nature of a bargain, at the beginning of which one or both parties commonly

ask for more than they hope to get—for more, even, it may be, than they really think they deserve to get. Subsequent discussion eliminates the unreasonable elements in the original demands until a satisfactory compromise is reached.

Naturally we should have made it very plain that a "free hand" for Germany in Europe could not include licence to interfere in the political affairs and liberties of other nations: even though we should have been wise to recognize Germany's right to ample trading facilities so long as these inflicted no hardship on nations with a sane economic system.

GOOD NEIGHBOURS

Similarly, we should have required particulars of the "certain demands" which Germany intended to make on Russia and, as a good neighbour of the latter, should have insisted that those demands be reasonable.

With regard to not negotiating with the Churchill Government, while it is foolish to sacrifice human lives to save the prestige of any government, we might perhaps have pointed out to Hitler that, if he did not like the past record of our government, there were a good many things in his own past record which most people in Britain did not like either; for which reason, if we were prepared to "lump" him, he might show an equally accommodating spirit by "lumping" Mr. Churchill!

OPPORTUNITY THROWN AWAY

However, as in the case of Lord Lansdowne's effort in the last war and my own humble venture in this, prompt government action—or inaction—has effectively nipped the bud off Hess's olive branch.

And our Prime Minister, who has promised us so much blood already, is

by the Duke of
BEDFORD

promising us more blood than ever in 1944. Among the victims there will doubtless be many men and women of high character and great ability whose continued existence in the world would be of far more solid value to it than the overthrow of all the Dictators and their governments who, in any case, are not immortal.

And at the end of the slaughter? Well, I suppose either the negotiated peace we might have had long ago without it, or "victory"—a victory which promises, with growing certainty, to be Dead Sea fruit indeed.

AIMS THROWN OVERBOARD

We went into the war to secure the integrity of Poland and to protect small nations from domination and aggression. That war aim had to be sacrificed to the desires of the Soviet Government.

We went into the war to destroy Fascism. We have got it well and truly established over here.

We went into the war to uphold freedom and democracy. There can be no true freedom and precious little democracy under the system of debt-slavery and artificial poverty which the financial advisers of the Governments of America and Britain plainly mean to re-establish in any areas that are reconquered.

The contributor of an article in a recent number of Peace News says, however, that he finds that the women in the Forces seem to ask only two things of "victory"—the hanging of Hitler and a Woolworth's in every town and village.

Well, if Service women ask no more than that of "victory" perhaps I am a little too pessimistic in describing its fruit as Dead Sea fruit; and if the women are going to be made happy with that, perhaps they will persuade the men to be happy too!

But—after all the blood, toil, tears, and sweat expended to secure these results—I ask, I really must ask, "Will it be quite fair to Marks and Spencer?"

AUGURIES OF AIR

Last week Peace News published the story of an American air-gunner in a Flying Fortress engaged in bombing Hanover. His arm was shot away. To save his life his comrades deliberately dropped him by parachute among the Germans.

German doctors operated on him, German nurses tended him, and Germans sent to his father in Tennessee the news that he was saved.

By John Middleton Murry

TO that story my reactions are complex. First, I am grateful that there is such kindness left in the world.

Next, I am gladly surprised that in Germans who had been watching a huge American bomber rain Hell out of Heaven upon a placid city like Hanover charity should have overcome their anger or their fear. If they had put a bullet into the man as he descended, it could hardly have been called worse than justifiable homicide.

Then, I am amazed that a bomber-crew which has been engaged in devastating Hanover should have had the idea of deliberately trusting their wounded comrade to the tender mercies of the Germans.

This last thought sticks like a burr in my mind. For truly I find it hard to conceive how the crew of a great bomber could at one and the same moment lose their load of indiscriminate destruction on the German people, and entertain the thought that those same Germans would probably tend with brotherly care one of their number who happened to be wounded.

NO SUDDEN REVULSION

If I were told that they experienced a sudden revulsion from their bestial job, or that they made a vow that, if their buddy were saved alive, they would never again take part in a bombing raid on Germany, my troubled mind would be at rest. But there is no hint of that in the story.

Indeed, it is not even told as a story of German humanity; but as the story of "a remarkable escape." As though it were just a bright idea on the part of the American bomber-crew.

It seems to have been just that—a bright idea that came off.

That frightens me. When human beings get to the point at which they accept as part of the routine of a soldier's life the massed bombing of towns like those in which they themselves were born and bred, and at the same time count upon the protection of the customary chivalry of war, it seems to be the time they were superseded by a different species.

COST OF "Defence and Justice" IN INDIA

BRTAIN is just beginning to have a bad conscience about social conditions in India. Yet in 1936-7—a year when the threat of war was by no means exceptionally acute—expenditure on social services in India was very low compared with the sums lavished on the Defence services.

Here are the figures for several social services, compared with that for Defence, in lakhs (hundreds of thousands) of rupees:

Justice, 545.92; Jails and Police, 1,537.52; Education and Scientific, 1,307.75; Medical and Public Health, 571.69; total, 3,962.88; Defence, 5,018.53.

Figures given for social services represent expenditure charged against the revenue of both the Central and Provincial Governments; the figure for Defence was, of course, charged only against Central Government revenue.

The "Defence" contribution helps to pay for wars in which India is involved, not by her own vote but by the decision of Whitehall. And this is what the Indians get for their contribution to "Justice":

"A statement submitted to the Indian Central Assembly, quoted by BUP, says that 27,367 people were in prison on September 1 in connection with the Indian Congress Movement, and 19,284 were undergoing normal imprisonment. The rest were being detained without trial. Up to September 1, 7,447 security prisoners had been released" (Star, Nov. 10).

Can the split in the human consciousness go further? Try to push it a little further.

There are, I think, even more bestial activities than indiscriminate bombing from the air. There is the deliberate torture of a fellow-human, such as was wont to be inflicted on every prisoner tried for treason or heresy up to about 1600. It is said to have been revived by the various bodies of secret police in the totalitarian States.

It is more bestial than indiscriminate bombing, because the torturer is face to face with his victim, whereas the air bomber is remote from his, and "fires into the brown" as they used to say. The torturer does not have to imagine, as the airman does, nor is he himself in mortal danger as the airman is. Yes, bestial though air-bombing is, torture is, by a whole moral dimension, more bestial.

But who can imagine a torturer trusting himself to the mercy of the friends of the man whom he tortured to death? They might be merciful. But I cannot conceive the torturer who would gamble on their mercy, still less count on it. The sense of guilt, of moral infamy, in his heart would be too deep and ineradicable.

NO SENSE OF GUILT

There is the point. The fortress bombers and their buddy had no sense of guilt in their hearts. They could not see their victims. If it had been a matter of tossing a bomb 50 ft. into a group of men, women, and children, their hands might have faltered.

More potent still, for warding off the sense of guilt, is the fact that they themselves are in instant peril, all through the peak-moments of their flight. The moment when they are dropping the bombs is their own moment of supreme danger. It makes a difference; it makes a hell of a difference.

Perhaps indeed it makes all the difference. Perhaps it would be impossible for them to do their stuff, if they did not know they were putting their own lives to the extremest hazard conceivable by man.

By that very fact they pass out of the world of common humanity, beyond the range of its simple sympathies, into a strange world with a strange gamut of emotion and a strange language to express it. Poised precariously, these new fallible birds of death become at once inhuman and superhuman.

NEW PHENOMENON?

I do not pretend to understand the airman's psychology; but I have no difficulty in believing it must be something new in the queer and various history of the human race.

I think I can understand how his intoxication is proof against invasion by a sense of guilt. There is no human hazard to equal that of fighting in the air. And in virtue of that the airman expects the benefits of chivalry. Yes, I can work it out.

What comfort do I get from it? Some, undoubtedly, in that I do not have to look upon a bomber-crew as beyond the pale of humanity. Beyond that, the comfort dwindles rapidly.

These warriors of the air are going to be the masters of human destiny so long as that is ultimately decided by military power. Their combination of extreme gallantry and extreme brutality is full of sinister implication. It is (I suspect) the essential ethos of Fascism. And I fear that a world in which the air-forces wield the decisive military power must be a Fascist world, or must make an almost inconceivable effort to avoid being one.

"This Barbaric War"

A German and his Victims

Bedford Pollard tells in *The Friend* (Dec. 10) the following story, which (as he says) "simply discloses that there are decent, humane men, even in Germany."

A FRIEND of mine had a grandson who went to sea in 1942. He was twice on a torpedoed ship, but he survived and finally, as radio officer, had further terrible experiences.

"His ship went down in a few minutes, but he, with passengers and crew, losing everything, just reached the lifeboat in time. Presently the German submarine appeared alongside, and the captain handed out milk to mothers with babies, and food for others.

"The grandson, unfortunately, was unable to get aboard and was two hours in the sea before being picked up by the same captain. He was treated with the utmost kindness: hot bath, food, comfortable berth. It was months before his friends, having given him up for lost, learned he was a prisoner of war and quite comfortable."

A soldier home on leave after five years overseas, RQMS Frederick Gee of Barnstaple, in an interview published in the *Western Morning News*, Nov. 20, "was able to speak appreciatively of the way the Germans had looked after British wounded, and instanced one case where, on re-occupying some ground previously lost, they found the enemy had left medical orderlies behind to assist the wounded."

Worldover Press, of USA, reports that "the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has received a cheque for more than 425 dollars from the parents of an aviator shot down by the Japanese who asked that the money be earmarked for future work in Japan as 'the only decent Christian vengeance'."

C.O.s PROTEST IN PRISON

AT least five conscientious objectors in the penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania—including David Delinger and Paton Price—are known to the War Resisters' League, of New York, to have been on a hunger strike since Sep. 28 as a protest against censorship regulations. A larger group of at least seven men have been isolated in a special dormitory since early in June because of their refusal to co-operate in the prison.

In addition to these men at Lewisburg, 18 COs at Danbury, Connecticut, have been in isolation since Aug. 11 because of their refusal to co-operate in prison. The chief reason for the strike has been a protest against racial segregation.

In the last war, special provisions were made for COs who refused to co-operate in the prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, and within the confines of a barbed wire camp where they were placed, they had complete self-government. Some such solution for the COs who are now refusing to co-operate in prison is being advocated.

"UNJUSTIFIABLE CRUELTY"

After many months in Civilian Public Service camps, Stanley Murphy and Louis Taylor decided in October, 1942, to leave the camp at Big Flats, New York. Their protest was primarily against conscription, but they believed that, in spite of provisions for conscientious objection in the Selective Service Act, the administration of the law was defeating whatever good intentions Congress had had.

In February 1943 they were sentenced to 2½ years in prison. As a protest against conscription and the complete regimentation and authoritarianism of prison, they refused to co-operate from the beginning of their imprisonment.

As a result (a letter from Evan W. Thomas, chairman of the War Resisters' League, of New York, dated Aug. 18, reveals) they have suffered "shocking" treatment. Mr. Thomas adds that "Murphy and Taylor are not the only cases of unjustifiable cruelty on the part of the federal prison system."

"Because of the threat of a writ of habeas corpus and the interest expressed by people on the outside, Murphy and Taylor have now been placed in separate rooms outside the psychiatric wards and an investigation of their condition by Austin MacCormick, of the Osborne Association, is under way."

WHY IMITATE THE NAZIS?

Though stating his case in terms which do not condemn war itself, at any rate (in the words of the *Daily Mail*, Dec. 7)

The Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. A. C. Headlam, condemns our policy of bombing Germany.

The *Mail* proceeded to quote the following, from his December diocesan magazine,

by the BISHOP of GLOUCESTER

I AM concerned about the air raids. There are those who think we can win the war by them. I doubt it very much.

I do not believe that we now do as much damage to factories as we think. New factories, factories concealed in forests, have been and are being built, and these it will be very difficult for us to find.

The destruction of Hitler's or Ribbentrop's or Goebbels's palaces will only make them more anxious for revenge.

I must own that it is a form of warfare I do not like. It is very largely a war against civilians. It is a barbaric war. It means the destruction of all the fruits of civilization.

The real work of the Air Force is to support the troops in battle, to defend our ships and attack those of the enemy, and to defend our shores. They would have been better employed in protecting our troops in Cos and Leros and Samos than in destroying German civilization.

Why should we imitate the German behaviour in Russia which we so much condemn?

NEARLY 25 TO 1

The German Ministry of Home Security has disclosed that 102,486 persons were killed in raids on 12 German towns from Apr. 1 to Oct. 25, says the Berlin correspondent of the *Stockholm Aftonbladet*, reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, Oct. 29. The figure included 28,350 dead in Hamburg alone, and 18,146 in Cologne.

According to an earlier Exchange message from Zurich, a member of the German Government Statistics Office in Berlin said that 1,200,086 German civilians were killed or reported missing, believed killed, in air raids from the beginning of the war up to Oct. 1.

Civilian casualties due to air raids on the United Kingdom from the beginning of the war until Sep. 30 numbered 43,282 killed or missing, believed killed—just over one 25th of the death inflicted on Germany, and less than the deathroll in six months' bombing of Hamburg, Cologne, and Kassel.

Notified casualties of United States armed forces from the outbreak of the war to now total 129,422, *Reuter's* Washington correspondent reported on Dec. 11, in the *Daily Express*. This total, combining War and Navy Department reports, comprises: Dead, 28,187; wounded, 39,974; missing, 32,833; prisoners of war, 28,423.

PROFITABLE BUSINESS

Schneider-Creusot, the French armaments firm, made a net profit of 14,000,000 francs (about £80,000 pre-war) last year, says the *German News Agency*. It will pay 50 francs (about 5s. 9d.) a share dividend.—*Reuter*, quoted in *Evening News*, Dec. 1.

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Gandhi's Religion & Politics

THE teaching and example of Gandhi are the most eminent expression in our generation of a radical large-scale alternative to war and power politics. If they cut directly across the sanctions of States in our time, they equally cut across the historical sanctions given to violence in the long history of the established Churches of Western Christendom, including those of the Anglican XXXIX Articles.

That Gandhi's political faith is fundamentally religious is abundantly clear; what is not so clear is whether his religious faith is fundamentally political in its application to the government of men in masses. But if the petition in the Lord's Prayer, "Thy Kingdom come," and the hundred references to the manner and spirit of the coming of that Kingdom on earth in Christ's sayings mean anything, Christianity also is primarily concerned with the government of men by the spirit and good will of God.

Whether Christian politics should begin with the personality or with the totality of the State, whether man is to be governed for man's sake will depend upon men's final assessment of values and methods. Gandhi's own foundations are described in Roy Walker's introduction, from his own words:

"It was the New Testament which really awakened me. When I read in the Sermon on the Mount such passages as 'Resist not him that is evil, but whosoever smiteth thee on the right cheek turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven,' I was simply overjoyed and found my opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The Bhagavad Gita deepened the impression. Tolstoy's 'The Kingdom of God is within you' gave it permanent form."

A Daily Resolve

The quotations from "Religion and Conscience" have searching sayings:

"It is more correct to say that Truth is God than to say that God is Truth. Abstract truth has no value unless it incarnates in human beings who represent it by being willing to die for it. Fearlessness is the first requisite of spirituality. Cowards can never be moral. Let then our first act every morning be to make the following resolve for the day: 'I shall not fear anyone on earth. I shall only fear God. I shall not bear ill will towards anyone. I shall not submit to injustice from anyone. I shall conquer untruth by truth and in resisting untruth I shall put up with all suffering.'"

Gandhi's Way of Peace has its rules and discipline: 1. The observance of truth; 2. Non-injury to others; 3. The discipline of our passions. "Discipline is the pledge and guarantee that a man means business." The Satyagraha, or soul-force, of a dedicated and disciplined man is a supreme need.

"I see nothing in which lies the social, economic, and political advancement of the nation so much as in Satyagraha. We shall be spared much of the hubbub and stump oratory, much of the petition-making and passing of resolutions and much of our mean selfishness."

Then appears a perplexing statement:

"Satyagraha may be used for what appear to be mundane ends and through men and women who do not understand it, provided the director knows that the weapon is spiritual. Non-violence is complete innocence. Complete non-violence is complete absence of ill will against all that lives. It therefore embraces sub-human life, not excluding noxious insects or beasts. The religion of non-violence is not merely meant for the Rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well."

The remainder of this important little book deals with what may be called the casuistry of Politics and Government, Democracy and Liberty, Leaders and Followers, Non-Co-operation, Civil Disobedience, and the problems of translating Gandhi's fundamental ethic into terms of the modern world.

VERSAILLES ANARCHY AGAIN

THE proceedings of UNRRA give reason to fear the very worst. In the relief of Europe, the one practical activity which offered the chance of overriding the madness of small-State nationalism, there is to be the fatal return to anarchy. "At every point the emphasis has been laid on national sovereignty, on sovereign independence, on the authority of governments each in its own circumscribed territorial sphere."

Still worse, the idea of Rehabilitation is dropped. UNRRA will have no power to set in motion long-term schemes of recovery. These are to be left to the sovereign and independent nations, whose jealous Governments have learned nothing at all from the chaos produced by economic nationalism between the wars.

Yet worse again, in spite of all the professions of the Atlantic Charter to safeguard the economic prosperity of "victors and vanquished" alike, there is to be discrimination against Germany from the beginning. UNRRA, while assisting all other refugees, may not help Germans to return to Germany. The British motion, supported by USA and China, that enemy countries should pay for relief "to the fullest extent possible" was defeated. Germany is to pay in full. Versailles is being prepared all over again. The small countries of Europe, seeking to slay Germany, will slay themselves.

M. R. Lloyd George, after long conversations with Gandhi, described him as "a saint and a very astute politician." His barristerial training and experience and his lifelong handling of political affairs would seem to justify such a description. Therefore his deductions have great significance.

"Law and Order are soulless qualities. Law introduces uniformity in the relation of individual to individual; uniformity is essential and we may also take it that it is more essential for law to be certain than to be just. . . . The collective life of the modern people who swear by the law as against morality has been steadily going downward. Swaraj means government by the many; when the many are immoral or selfish their government can spell anarchy and nothing else. . . . Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. Ridicule is like repression. What I would rid ourselves of is the distrust of one another and imputation of motives. Our besetting sin is not differences but littleness."

"In matters of vital importance leaders must act contrary to the mass of opinion. I must limit the points of utter independence to matters of first-rate importance. In all others which do not involve a departure from one's personal religion or moral code one must yield to the majority. . . . Even when both parties believe in violence, there is often such a thing as justice on one side or the other. Life is a very complex thing and truth and non-violence present problems which often defy analysis and judgment. One discovers truth and the method of applying Satyagraha by patient endeavour and silent prayer. . . . Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and be slow to impute motives. We must therefore be ever courteous and patient with those who do not see eye to eye with us. Humility, therefore, is the key to quick success."

The Himalayan altitude of Gandhi's precepts permit criticism of what he has himself called his "Himalayan blunders" of judgment in supposing mass movements ready to maintain these heights, especially in view of his statement that "there is nothing easier than to teach crowds, for the simple reason that they have neither mind nor reflection."

Such blunders are apparent when, for example, after the success of his

—GEO. M. LI. DAVIES—

reviews "The Wisdom of Gandhi"

by ROY WALKER, and says:

"This remarkable collection of sayings and reflections of Gandhi should be of immense interest to pacifists."

non-violent campaign in South Africa he urged upon his fellow countrymen during the last war:

"The way to the freedom of India is on the fields of France. My advice to the country is for us to fight unconditionally unto death for victory for Britain and at the same time to struggle unto death, if need be, for the reforms we desire."

Again, after his ultimatum of civil disobedience to the Viceroy in 1922, the Chauri Chaura atrocities of the crowd caused him to call off the whole movement and to fast in penitence.

"I have been warned for the third time that there is not yet in India the atmosphere of non-violence and truthfulness which could justify civil disobedience, which presupposes truthful, humble understanding, willing and loving gentleness, not cruel and hateful. I was warned in 1919 by the crimes of the crowd. I confessed a Himalayan blunder and repented before God and man. Also I received an awful warning in the events in Bombay which I saw with my own eyes; but it was at Chauri Chaura that the greatest humiliation came. To win self government means moral authority over the truculent elements in the country and over hoodliganism in India."

HOW far the lesson has been learned by his followers, or even by the Indian Congress leaders, only time can show. As late as July, 1940, the Working Committee of Congress offered to lend its whole powers to the effectual defence of India in return for the acceptance of their terms of self-government. So non-violence went by the board and Gandhi once more resigned.

But there must be many in India who have really pondered and learned the teaching of this fearless though fallible leader and whose spirit and example will be leavening the life of the humbler spheres in which they may live at the human and personal foundations of politics.

by
MAURICE L. ROWNTREE

WE in the Peace Pledge Union are united in our opposition to all war. As opponents of war we have rightly regarded the claims of the individual conscience as paramount.

We have, all too easily, liked to feel that we were the sort of people who formed our own opinions, our own ethical standards. We have been proud to stand for the right of individual judgment, as to refuse to be stampeded by the pressure of the mass-mind.

And yet we have found that to oppose war "is not enough." Our very existence depends upon our membership of an organic society. Also, our individual lives are themselves organic, every part of them inter-related to every other part.

Peace, even more than war, is total. Moment by moment, by all that we do and say, indeed by all that we think and feel, we are either creating peace or making war, either promoting the growth of justice and sympathy amongst men, or hindering it.

Most of us have come of late increasingly to realize that the best way to oppose war is ourselves to begin to build the new order from within the old; to build, amid the slaughter and death that surrounds us, the world which has no place for war. But are we fit for the work to which we are called? We are bitten with the idea of community, yet our individualism persists in sticking out at every odd corner, and some of these are very odd. There is much fine personal comradeship amongst us, yet how easily we become disputatious, how prone we sometimes are to the conviction that our particular view is the only right one.

WORDS OF PEACE—51

Humour and Good Sense

IT seems to me the worst comment on dictatorships is that while presidents of democracies can laugh, dictators always look so serious—with a protruding jaw, a determined chin, and a pouted lower lip, as if they were doing something terribly important, and the world could not be saved except by them. . . .

We are not indulging now, discussing the smile of dictators; it is terribly serious when our rulers do not smile, because they have got all the guns. On the other hand the tremendous importance of humour in politics can be realized only when we picture for ourselves a world of joking rulers. Send, for instance, five or six of the world's best humourists to an international conference, and give them the plenipotentiary powers of auto-crats, and the world will be saved.

As humour necessarily goes with good sense and the reasonable spirit, plus some exceptionally subtle powers of the mind in detecting inconsistencies and follies and bad logic, and as this is the highest form of human intelligence, we may be sure that each nation will thus be represented at the conference by its sanest and soundest mind. Let Shaw represent Ireland, Stephen Leacock Canada. . . . Wodehouse or Aldous Huxley England, Robert Benchley or Heywood Brown USA; others from Italy and France, Germany and Russia. Send these people to a conference on the eve of a great war, and see if they can start a European war, no matter how they try. . . .

The sense of humour forbids it. All people are too serious and half insane when they declare a war against another people. They are so sure that they are righteous, that God is on their side. The humourists, gifted with better horse-sense, don't think so. . . .

LIN YU-TANG,
"The Importance of Living."

Effective Peace Making

IF we pacifists would be pioneers in peace-making we ourselves must learn to show, certainly a steadfast loyalty to truth, but also an increasing readiness to understand, and to co-operate with, one another. If our own practice does not display the spirit of co-operation, how shall we persuade our fellow-men to try the way we advocate?

I believe it is vital for the PPU to face up to this challenge more than it has ever yet done, and for all of us who are its members and supporters to take stock of ourselves with the utmost sincerity and thoroughness. Of all people in the world it is pacifists who most need to cultivate sympathetic awareness of the thoughts and feelings of their neighbours and fellow workers.

The facing of this challenge requires us to renounce all false pride, and ruthlessly to question our own (not our neighbour's) too easily assumed sense of rectitude. It requires of us a vivid awareness of our own lopsidedness of outlook and of our individual prejudices; it requires a willingness to laugh at ourselves and (what is harder) not to mind if others laugh at us.

It means a substantial effort to put ourselves alongside our neighbour, and to see his problem firstly from his own point of view. It demands of us that we be determined to face all truth, and not to dodge any of it, to accept all people as they are, not as we think they ought to be, and to meet them just where they are, not somewhere else where we should like to put them.

THESE things are hard to practise, but they are utterly necessary if we are to be spreaders of truth and effective peacemakers. We have to aim at nothing less than the completest, most deeply sensitive, most aware, most social life of which we can become capable.

To face truth wholeheartedly is to face, and even to welcome, all the humiliation and pain that truth may bring to us. Effective warriors for peace must accept on each plane—physical, emotional, mental—the discipline of training for peace-making. It is through facing up to all these demands that we become free and joyful to an extent of which we have hardly dared to dream. We then find ourselves inflowed by streams of healing, overcoming and unifying power, which enable us to become in some sense healers, both of our own sickness and of that of mankind.

If we will trust life fully—if, in psychological language, we will seek to integrate our conscious selves with the unconscious and with our whole environment—if, in religious language, we will surrender ourselves utterly to God for the service of man—then this life-giving power may be abundantly ours.

I write as one who has known this so certainly that I can say it with conviction: who yet has again and again failed to live up to the truth he has known: who has then started over again, and has continually found that in the hour of need overcoming power has been given to me. I long that I and that all my friends, and that men everywhere, may know and lay hold of this power more fully.

Man at the moment is misdirecting his magnificent energy into unimaginable tragedy and death. But he can, if he will, turn to the light, and redirect that energy into the way of life. By following that way the world may yet be set free. Shall not we of this movement welcome and grasp our opportunities, and thus co-operate in laying the foundations of a juster, cleaner, kinder and more joyful age?

READERS DISCUSS- AND THE

Future of the P.P.U.

I THINK there is much wisdom in Piers Plowman's letter. I agree, for instance, that many of our future PPU members are probably at present in the ATC; also that boys and girls must decide for themselves. But is he not over-simplifying the issue when he suggests that we should not "muck about with the young," but rather leave children and young people to think for themselves? Consider the damage already being done by propaganda!

I do not suggest a drive for future PPU members; but that we should try "to counter what we consider to be one-sided propaganda, to help boys and girls to think straight on the issues involved, so that they may be in a position to decide honestly for themselves as to what course to take." Is there anything wrong in that? Indeed, is it not the least we should do? Nor do I agree with his suggestion that we cannot become pacifists until we have taken part in war. At any rate it has not been so in my case.

PATRICK FIGGIS

I am surprised to learn that Piers Plowman, an apparently right-thinking man, has so little faith in the mental capacity of the under-18. I agree with him in substance, if not in detail, that any attempt at the forcible conversion of the young is apt to frighten them away, or at least make a pretty insipid type of pacifism. Yet how can he confidently assert that "it is asking for an undesirable type of precociousness" to expect young people to give any thought to the question?

Maybe a few of the future generation are capable of tolerance and love of all mankind. Maybe a few are longing for the day when the nations of the world acknowledge a universal king personified in Christ Jesus. Maybe a few are tired of hackneyed exhortations to a war-like patriotism.

Please, Mr. Plowman, have faith in us, even though we be a few.

MARGOT R. SPAURS

The Horticultural College, Swanley, Kent.

LETTERS to the EDITOR

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief and preferably under 250 words.

C.O.s in U.S.S.R.?

IN your editorial (Nov. 26) entitled "Good Enough," you say "They do not keep pacifists as pets in Russia: they exterminate them as vermin."

Will you please give us your authority for this statement, as I understand that conscientious objection is recognized in Russia, as in this country, and a considerable number of Tolstoyan disciples, Baptists, and even political objectors in Russia are given exemption from military service on condition that they accept alternative service, i.e., landwork or anything in connection with food production.

HENRY HOLGATE

64 Derbyshire Lane,
Hucknall, Notts.

If my facts are wrong I apologize. I had always assumed, after reading the account of the treatment of the Baptists in Maurice Hindus's "Red Bread"—a pro-Soviet book—that conscientious objection to war was not a permitted attitude in USSR, and that conscientious objectors were treated as enemies of the State. Can anybody confirm Mr. Holgate's opinion?—Ed., PN.

Manchester Food Relief Effort

The approach of Christmas is an opportune time to bring the question of Food Relief for the occupied countries before the public. The spirit of good will still asserts itself even in wartime, and whilst the food situation in this country may not be all that is desired, the comparison between conditions here and in occupied Europe ought to awaken a strong feeling of compassion and a desire to help.

The Manchester and Salford Famine Relief Committee is anxious to make the most of the season. It hopes to run a cinema campaign with the express purpose of collecting as many signatures as possible to the petition for sending dried milk and vitamins to the children and nursing mothers of Greece and Belgium. Literature and petition stalls in the foyers will need staffing from Dec. 20 to Jan. 6.

We therefore appeal to any reader living in the Manchester district to offer his services for one or two hours on any afternoon or evening between the dates mentioned. It would be a great help if readers would state specific hours, and send their offers to the Manchester and Salford Famine Relief Committee, Room 25, 1 Princess St., M/c 2, when they will receive instructions and full details of the campaign.

(Rev.) Stanley Mossop (Chairman)
Peter Whitaker,
Mary F. Phillips (Hon. Secs.)
S. Wainwright (Treasurer)

Industrialism: the disjunction of PRODUCER and CONSUMER

IT is strange that the discussion of industrialism could have gone on for so long and yet ignored a fundamental issue. The relationship between man and machine has been exhaustively analysed; so has that between man and man in the function of producer; the question of employer and servant has been dealt with by implication. But the crucial tie-up between producer and consumer has been completely ignored.

The source of satisfaction to the medieval craftsman (as to the modern artist and the fortunate "tradesman") lay not in a man-to-things relationship. It was not, or not primarily, the exercise of certain muscles which delighted. Rather was it the production of commodities, beautiful or useful, each having utility in the strict economic sense. For no man produced without an intimate knowledge of his own wants, or that of others; and because consumption, the known market, was the natural complement to production, production was satisfactory.

The chronic disease of our system is its vicious separation of production from consumption, so that even co-operative societies belie their names and separate the administration of the two functions. The remedy is embodied in the conjunction of the two; all other things are subordinate to that. For it may be safely assumed that what is not produced to meet the needs of men—individual men, not the consumer in the abstract—will not glorify God; and what is "to the glory of God" will also serve and delight God's children.

Conceived as a problem of the right relationship between consumer and producer, industrialization and craftsmanship no longer dominate the discussion of work. For a man who renounces his machine so that he may bake his own bread may seem to save his own soul, but is responsible also to those who, in consequence, go short. It is no part of a reply to say that they are free to do likewise. Manifestly each family cannot grow its own wheat or keep its own cow.

The solution may indeed lie in the direction of village communities and the decentralization of industrial controls; it probably demands workers' councils and consumers' committees. Nevertheless we are not, most of us, members of effective workers' committees or village communities. We are merely "hands" in a State which assists and upholds and does its damndest to perpetuate an unholy system.

A few privileged members of the bourgeoisie (not excluding Frederick Lohr, Michael Tippett, and myself) are able to break away from the profit system and start again—because we have

Machines and Men

"He that owns the means whereby I live owns my life," said Shakespeare. Let us examine that. Man invents a machine, which is continually improved upon. A few men decide to adopt the machine and produce commodities; and whether the rest agree or not they are forced to follow suit or close down their businesses. Competition compels them to take the machine.

The workers, who produce all wealth, except virgin soil, but own none of it, in order to exist, must apply for permission to work the machines. If the employers can make a profit out of the transaction, they will purchase their labour-power at so much per hour, or week, according to its market-price; and the workers will get a crust to eat, and have somewhere to lay their heads. The workers, who represent most of the people, have no choice as to how they shall live their lives. History proves that they are gluttons in gullibility, and the ruling class dose them well with propaganda and promises.

Within the framework of the present economic system, nothing can be done to improve their lot. The system is breaking down; and each succeeding year things will become worse until conditions arise that will wipe it out of existence. The propagandist cannot do much. You cannot feed a hungry man with nice words; it is fallacious to believe so.

Until the means of production and distribution are taken out of private hands (people who restrict production and destroy food, so as to keep profits up) and owned by the whole people and democratically controlled—not owned by the State, as in Russia—society will continue to sink lower and lower.

A. G. SCOTT

38 Leighton Rd., N.W.5.

capital enough to take us through the transition period or friends to keep us. The majority of the people have neither.

That is the political problem we have hardly begun to face.

DONALD PORT

If it is allowable to butt in on a butt, may I suggest that Michael Tippett (facing the issue quite squarely) still puts square pegs into round holes. This is useless in Religion, as it is in Music: and Politics don't count anyway.

And is this not really the point, the crux? Politics must try to have its cake and also eat it, but what the prophet and the artist have to insist upon is that primarily the need is for BREAD (with the germ intact), which, I take it, is what M.T. means by putting the "savour into the salt."

He is clearly right in saying that nothing has ever been or ever can be done except by individuals, and is it not just because we have refused to allow individuality to develop that we are in the present mess?

The matter of personality is surely quite different. I understand that its derivation implies "a mask," which seems to me an extremely graphic description of most of us at the moment. It is perhaps because of the growing realization of this that one notices a probably genuine interest in various forms of art; for the artist alone, and only when he rises above a certain level, exhibits this individual aspect in his work. He will always be the first to protest that, far from expressing his mask (or self), he but gives as clear an individual view of the subject as his tedious "self" will allow; for this individual view, surely is himself in its best sense.

The implication of Michael Tippett's burden is, I suppose, that until we realize the difference between the two and so learn to control our "selves," or to wear our mask intelligently, it does not matter in the least whether we are coerced by a Churchill or a Hitler or a Stalin: the results will be equally unimportant in the long run.

JOHN MOXFORD

We all seem to be in agreement that there is one vital problem to be solved: "How to encourage and develop personal initiative and responsibility in large-scale organization" in order to arrive at the personal satisfaction necessary to the reinstatement of the "human values."

May I therefore suggest that all correspondents read "A Chance for Everybody" by Hyacinthe Dubreuil (Chatto and Windus, 7s. 6d.). This book was recommended by Aldous Huxley in "Ends and Means." It is written by a man with long experience of workshops in Europe and America, and gives details of a practical scheme which has been proved successful in several experiments.

I think both Lawrence Hissam and Ronald Perry will find that it is possible to run modern industry without the dead weight of centralized control.

For the philosophy behind this book, I might also add "The Politics of the Unpolitical" by Herbert Read.

JOHN J. COTTRELL

VERA BRITTAIN

(Continued from page 1)

flourish. We are turning Europe into a desert beside which the scriptural abomination of desolation was a Garden of Eden.

LEGACY TO CHILDREN

It is not Mr. Churchill, nor Sir Archibald Sinclair, nor even that comparatively youthful exponent of ruthlessness, Mr. Dingle Foot, who will have to deal with the long European aftermath.

Those destined to confront its problems are the backward, semi-educated British children now being pushed in "upsetting and frustrating" conditions through the schools of London and other still raided cities.

What is being done to inform these children of the fate of their European contemporaries? How are they being trained for the future which they will have to face? These are the questions which all parents, and all teachers, should be asking their education authorities today.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge all correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

★ PPU HEADQUARTERS, ★

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

P.S.U. Reports

ON the top floor of Dick Sheppard House are the central headquarters of the Pacifist Service Units. In this office the general organization of PSU is carried on. This includes publicity and finance-raising, interviewing personnel, record-keeping, and liaison between the ten full-time Units in London, Liverpool, Cardiff, and Manchester, and the part-time Units in various parts of the country.

The real work of the PSU is of course the service undertaken by the Units themselves; "organization" is kept down to the minimum necessary for efficiency.

The main office job in hand at present is the circulation of the third Annual Report, which carries to the end of the third year the story of the development of the Units from the emergency relief work of the air-raid winter, through the transitional period of the second year to the present more concentrated social service work. The Report gives a summary of the main types of work now being tackled and lays special stress on the work done in town housing estates and in the family case-work of the Units in Liverpool, Stepney, and Manchester.

This report will be followed by further publications in the New Year in which it is planned to describe in much fuller detail both PSU as a whole and some of the work it does. If you or your group do not receive the reports, let PSU know, and they will put you on their mailing list.

Units believe that they have a story to tell which will be of unique and compelling interest to all socially conscious people, and readers are invited to get in touch with them and arrange meetings to which they will gladly send one of the Unit members to speak about the special social problems they have found and the ways in which they are trying to tackle them.

Units are convinced that there is almost unlimited need for the kind of service they try to give (particularly in family case-work), and they badly need new personnel both to ease the strain on the already overpressed Units and to enable them to take on some of the work which they are reluctantly compelled to turn down at present. Most Units need regular part-time help in their work, and during the summer months and around Christmas welcome holiday "reliefs."

Full particulars about the work and the conditions of membership can be obtained from the Secretary, PSU, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1. Provincial readers might find it useful to have a note of the addresses of the provincial Units, who are always pleased to have visitors interested in their work: these are:

Liverpool: 56 Grove St., Liverpool 7.

Manchester: 86 Rusholme Rd., Chorlton-on-Medlock, Manchester 13.

Cardiff: 233 Bute St., The Docks, Cardiff.

VALUABLE CONTACTS

Have you considered helping to sell Peace News to the public?

Birmingham reports that volunteers will be welcome—even for 15 minutes—between 4.30 and 6 p.m. on Fridays or at any time on Saturdays. Week after week sellers find that valuable contacts are made. Write Marjorie Harvey, 36 Holloway Head, or phone Wilfred Burt during the day at PRI. 1267.

Readers prepared to sell in London should inform the London Area PPU Organizer, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1. (Phone: EUS. 4637.)

Information about selling in other towns can be obtained from the Peace News Office.

you should have all these

CLASSICS OF NON- VIOLENCE

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Thoreau

LETTER TO A HINDU

Tolstoy

THREE ESSAYS

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MORAL EQUIVALENT TO WAR

William James

Sixpence each (postage 1d.)

2s. the set (post free)

PPU BOOKSHOP

6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

FOR NEW READERS

If you are not a regular reader of Peace News, we will arrange for you to receive it for a trial period of 3 months for the cheap rate of 2s. delivered or posted free. ★

Send a P.O. now to Peace News (Dept. C.1) 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, if you don't know the address of your local distributor.

(Distributors should inform the PN Office of NEW readers wishing to pay this cheap rate.)

LABOUR MINISTRY AND MINING

Statements on C.O.s

IN the House of Commons on Dec. 9 Mr. Ernest Bevin made the following statement:

"Conscientious objectors who are liable to be called up under the National Service Acts for service in the Non-Combatant Corps will take their chance for coalmining like anyone else liable to be called up under the Acts. In considering whether to direct other conscientious objectors to work in coalmining, I must have regard to the order made in each individual case by the independent tribunals set up by Statute to decide what work they should do as a condition of their registration."

The position generally is further clarified in a letter from the Ministry of Labour to the Public Relations Officer of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors dated Dec. 4:

"... The ballot announced by the Minister in the House on Wednesday will take place after medical examination at a time when a man might expect to receive an enlistment notice at any moment. Conditionally registered conscientious objectors are outside the scope of compulsory recruitment to the coal mines under the scheme announced by the Minister."

"Men may continue to volunteer for work in coal mines, and before they are accepted it is necessary to make sure that they are medically fit. For this purpose they are medically examined by the doctors who form the medical boards set up under the National Service Acts, but the medical examination is not a medical examination under the Acts. That is made perfectly clear in the form of invitation to attend the medical examination. It is an invitation in connection with the desire to work in a coal mine and not a summons to attend under the National Service Acts." (The emphasis is ours.)

LEWES FIRE GUARD CASE

When George Elphick appeared at Lewes Police Court on two adjourned summonses for refusing fire guard duty on Dec. 7 (his seventh prosecution) he was found "not guilty" the summonses being formally dismissed. The Town Clerk, Mr. W. T. Cumpsty, announced that the Borough Council had decided not to appeal by way of case stated, and the magistrates decided to leave each side to pay their own costs.

At a special meeting of the Borough Council later the same day it was resolved that the Fire Guard Officer be instructed to serve George Elphick with a further direction for fire guard duty, and an eighth prosecution appears certain.

In the House of Commons on Dec. 9, answering Mr. Rhys J. Davies, Mr. Morrison said: "I certainly should not be prepared to intervene with a view to their abandoning all these prosecutions, but in this case the Regional Commissioner did put a point of view to the local authority, and they did not accept it. ... I have carefully considered the question, but there are great difficulties about it, and I think that we must let it run as it is."

THE WISDOM OF GANDHI

AN OUTLINE OF GANDHI'S THOUGHT TAKEN FROM HIS OWN WRITINGS

Selected by Roy Walker

2s. 6d.

ANDREW DAKER, Ltd.

"This story ought to be published" said Dr. Alex Wood. Here it is:

FOUR YEARS OF WAR

Personal stories of war-resisters in all parts of the world, collected from the records of the War Resisters' International by the W.R.I.

Secretary

GRACE M. BEATON

Price 6d. (post free 7d.) from the publishers, W.R.I., 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, or P.P.U. Bookshop, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

"S.O.S." - France is "dying before our eyes"

"Unless the Allies act quickly and energetically, the gradual extermination of France will begin—and will not take long to complete. It must be made known that one of the most civilized nations in the world is dying before the eyes of its Allies. Hunger is now general, and is increasing. Although the danger may lessen in the countryside during the summer, next winter will be the last for France, unless . . ."

THUS began the Letter from France, ominously entitled "S.O.S.", in the May issue of La France Libre. The October issue of Les Cahiers Français gave a picture of conditions in Marseilles, which reinforces the warning and the plea.

There a customer may obtain 1½ ozs. fruit and 6 ozs. vegetables a day—when they are available—but of such poor quality that their nutritive value is negligible. Good quality produce is obtainable only on the black market at fantastic prices, well beyond the reach of the great majority of the people. Normal rations of sugar, coffee, rice, and potatoes could be obtained in July, but there were no supplies of other rationed goods such as fats, cheese, eggs, and preserves. The milk ration for children over six is now delivered only on alternate days, risking "grave effects on the health of children who are already badly undernourished."

Similar conditions obtain elsewhere in France. A Frenchwoman who had reached this country was quoted recently in the Birmingham Mail as saying that "in her own home town the people had for months past been without butter, fat, sugar, jam, coffee, and potatoes, and that their daily ration was 2 ozs. black bread or flour." She spoke of increasing illness and of the appalling infant mortality.

According to the Universe, the Bishop of St. Flour has asserted that "detailed inquiries reveal that there are people who are dying of hunger." Other reports fill in grim details:

vegetables were obtainable "on points" in Paris during the summer; bread, rationed at 6 ozs. a day, does not keep and is too sticky to cut with a knife; no milk is available for anyone over the age of 10, except expectant mothers.

Inevitably, the food shortage is having its effect upon the health of the nation. The figures given by the Vichy Government are bad enough, but in official French circles in London they are regarded as being understated. There were 63,000 deaths from tuberculosis in 1938; according to Vichy, this figure had risen to 160,000 in 1939, and to 234,000 in 1942. Scurvy has appeared in some places, food poisoning is more frequent as a result of eating bad fish and meat, and there are cases of serious damage to health resulting from too frequent recourse to medicines and so-called vitaminized tonics.

Perhaps one of the best indications of the seriousness of the situation is the readiness with which Swiss people have this summer opened their homes to and shared their own rations with some 42,000 children from occupied countries, mainly Belgium and France. Such was the need that those children whose condition was the worst had to be refused so that others might be taken who had a chance of recovery. For three months the more fortunate ones were enabled to regain some of the ground they had lost. Then they returned to homes where once more they were menaced by famine and disease—and will continue to be until our Government allows food to be sent.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

N.B. Owing to space difficulties, we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

LAND & COMMUNITY

C.O., SINGLE, 23, wishes to join land community; years land experience, mainly arable. Box 218 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EXPERIENCED pacifist tenant-farmer desires loan £80 to purchase additional livestock; 7% interest. Box 226 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

OPPORTUNITIES for men with progressive convictions and vocation for land work to gain all-round experience over two-year period. One vacancy for married couple if wife able to cater for three other men. Must be socially adaptable. Write for particulars, Community Farming Society, The Laurels, Holton Beckering, Wragby, Lincs.

LITERATURE, &c.

A FEW left, secondhand "H. R. L. Shepard," E. Roberts, 10s. post free; new "We Did Not Fight" (anthology of last-war resisters), 3s. post free. From P.B.S., 18 Noel St., W.1.

CHRIST IS COMING to establish the Kingdom of God on earth (Daniel 2:44). Literature 3d, from Secretary, Prophetic League, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write. Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc.; without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

LOVE rules the world. It is undying, unalterable, the One and only Power and Attraction. "The Voice Within," the organ of the Friends of God. Contents: The Foundation Stone; Life; Creative Evolution; The Spiritual Law of Attraction; etc. 2s. 6d. post free, apply Secretary, Brynhyfryd, Beaumaris, Anglesey.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

"THE CHRISTIAN DILEMMA" by Professor G. H. C. Macgregor, printed in the Christian Pacifist for Oct. 1943, has been reprinted by the Friends' Peace Committee as a 4d. pamphlet. Obtainable from the Committee at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

CHRISTMAS MUSIC. International Choir; soloists; members London Opera Group Orchestra. Bach Cantata "Sleepers Wake" and V. Williams, Handel, Byrd programme. Friends House, Euston Rd., Sat., Dec. 18, 5.30 p.m. Silver collection for Friends Relief Service (Registered War Charity).

INDIA. A course of three lectures on "The Political, Economic, and Cultural History of India," by Dr. S. Sinha. First lecture on Sun., Dec. 19, at 3.30 p.m., at the Svaraj House, 32 Percy St., W.1 (off Tottenham Ct. Rd.). MUS. 7277. All welcome.

WORKING WOMEN for Parliament. (No More Wars; Unemployment.) Katharine MacDonald (certificated Honours Elocution, Edinburgh, London, Glasgow), public speaking, social atmosphere; 8, Saturdays, Sundays, 1s. 6d.; stamped addressed envelope. Universal Friendship League, 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow.

PERSONAL

CHRISTMAS Greetings. Edmonton Group invite you to send to Thos. W. Vinall, No. 5877, H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, W.12.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Serv. PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney Cardiff.

CHRISTMAS POSTERS

1. "Glory to God in the Highest . . . toward Men"

2. "... the Dayspring . . . into the way of Peace" (Luke II 78-79)

and extract from Kagawa

4d. each

Obtainable from

FRIENDS' PEACE COMMITTEE Friends House Euston Road, N.W.1.

A WELSH COUNCIL OF PEACE

THE need for a national organization to co-ordinate the various pacifist bodies within Wales has been felt by leading pacifists in the Principality for some time, and steps are now being taken in that direction.

The initial move has been made by the Rev. George M. Ll. Davies, the Rev. G. Shilton Evans, Dr. Cecil Gill, Irene Myrddin Davies, Dr. Iowerth C. Peate, and Graham Thomas. Over their names an invitation has been issued to the various pacifist organizations concerned to appoint representatives to attend a preliminary meeting to investigate the possibility of forming a "Welsh Council of Peace" and of placing it upon a permanent basis.

Names and addresses are to be sent to Miss Gwyneth Davies, 18 Glenview Terrace, Llanbradach, nr. Caerphilly, Glam.

WHEN CORRESPONDING with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification and date.

DISPLAYED Advertisements. MAXIMUM space allowed: Three column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy first post Friday.

HOWARD HUTCHINS, No. 7030, H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, would be pleased to receive Xmas cards.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

POST-WAR relief and reconstruction. Austrian writer gives lessons in German, London area. Phone Terminus 1715.

SEASON'S GREETINGS (only) to Will Coppin, No. 5538, H.M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, W.12 (second Christmas).

STUDENT of life would welcome correspondence with Christian Scientists, old school boys, farm workers, Church of Jesus, communities, and keen, kindly and intelligent folk generally. Aim, mutual progress. Write Box 225 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, pacifists and their friends to spend a really good evening at the London Area PPU New Year Social and Dance. Conway Hall, Jan. 15. Book the date now.

SITUATIONS VACANT

MARRIED couple wanted, man for dairy farm work, wife to look after small modernized farmhouse. Box 204, PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SCHOOLMASTER, resident, wanted; maths. to School Certificate and general subjects. Boys' boarding and day school, S.W. England. Box 224 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SHERWOOD SCHOOL Community, Epsom 9125, want in January second House Mother, for Junior boarders.

WANTED immediately for progressive co-educational school, Mathematics teacher to University Scholarship standard. Good Honours Degree essential. Burnham Scale. Box 222 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, married couple, cook and waiter, quiet, unassuming, willing. Good home offered in small country Guest House near Camberley, Surrey. On bus route, close station. Box 215 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, young man for bread delivery and assist bakerhouse. Advertiser Christian, not a pacifist but sympathetic. Box 221 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, young man or woman to take charge of small dairy herd under supervision; some experience and interest in cattle essential; comfortable home. W. B. Tobey, Middle-down, Chivelstone, Kingsbridge, Devon.

YOUNG MAN required for farm work on small farm. Experience not essential but must be healthy, willing and adaptable. Write Box 220 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O., SINGLE, 23, seeks market gardening or similar work. Years arable experience. Box 219 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 20, TWO years experience gardening, poultry, odd-jobs, etc., seeks similar position with school, Guildford-Leatherhead-Epsom area. Full or part time. Box 217 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARKET GARDEN; combined clerical, land, and repairs assistance offered; experience, male C.O., now or shortly. Box 228 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

TYPEWRITING efficiently executed and promptly despatched. Send MSS. to Hilda Castle, 40 Cloonmore Av., Orpington.

YOUNG pacifist couple require joint situation London, caretaking and club work. Accommodation if possible. Excellent references. Box 216 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions, Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

REG. G. BAILEY, M.S.F., N.C.P., member of British Health Freedom League, Osteopath and Naturopath, ex-Maldstone College Graduate C.O. Natural treatment of disease. Consultations by appointment. 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Palmers Green 7668.

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